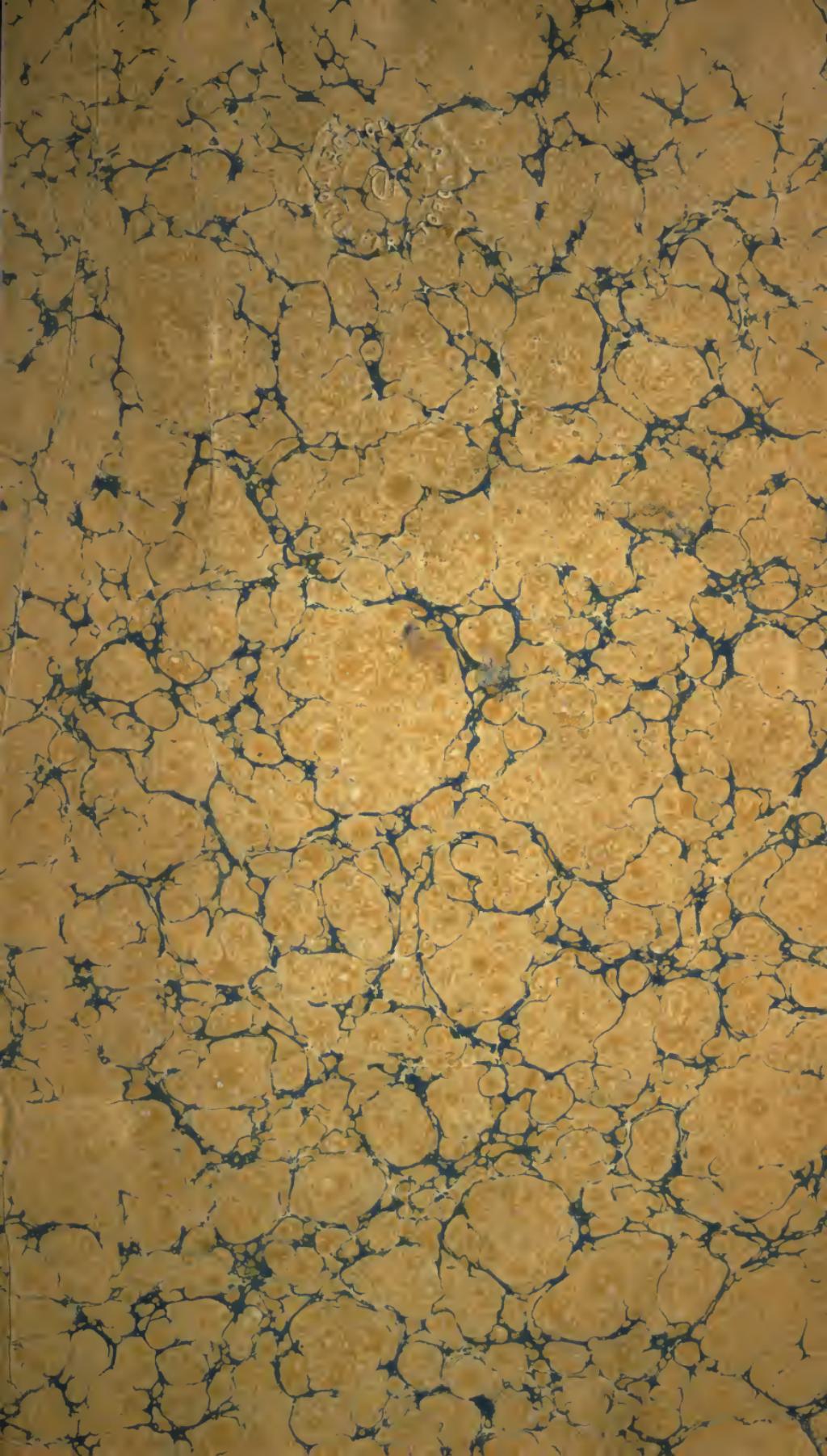
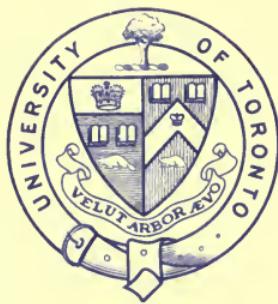


Observations on Lord
Bathurst's speech in
the House of peers
3d ed.

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1818







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OBSERVATIONS

ON

LORD BATHURST'S SPEECH.

BARNARD AND FARLEY,
Stainer Street, London.

OBSERVATIONS

ON

LORD BATHURST'S SPEECH

IN THE

HOUSE OF PEERS,

ON MARCH 18, 1817.

SENT SEALED TO SIR HUDSON LOWE, TO THE ADDRESS OF LORD LIVERPOOL,
ON THE 7TH DAY OF OCTOBER, 1817.

*"I approve these Observations. I desire that they may be placed
before the Eyes of the Sovereign and of the People of England."*

(Signed)

NAPOLEON.

Longwood, 9th Oct. 1817.

THIRD EDITION.

London:

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PATERNOSTER-ROW.

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OBSERVATIONS,

&c.

EXTRACT FROM THE SPEECH.

(See the *Morning Chronicle* of the 19th of March, 1817.)

“ That the Noble Mover could not discuss with a due
“ degree of impartiality the restrictions imposed
“ upon this prisoner, while he conceived restrictions
“ of what kind soever to be inhuman and unjus-
“ tifiable.” (1)

1. **T**HE Bill of the Parliament of England of the 11th April, 1816, is neither a law nor a judgment. A law determines only on general objects. The characteristics of a judgment are, the competency of the Tribunal; information, hearing of witnesses, confrontation, and argument. This Bill is an act of proscription, similar to those of Sylla and of Marius; as *necessary*, as *just*, but more *barbarous*! Sylla

and Marius, as Consuls or Dictators of the Republic had an unquestionable jurisdiction over the Romans. Neither the King of England, nor his people, had or have any over Napoleon: they are fifteen millions of men, oppressing one man in time of peace, because he directed and commanded armies against them in time of war. But Sylla and Marius signed those acts of proscription with the still ensanguined point of the sword, amidst the tumults and the violence of camps. The Bill of the 11th of April was signed in a time of peace, with the sceptre of a great people, in the sanctuary of the law. How will the Members of the English Parliament dare, henceforward, to blame those who proscribed Charles I. and Louis XVI.? Those Princes perished at least by a death which was prompt, and without agony!

This Bill declares, 1st, That Napoleon shall be treated as if he were a prisoner of war;—2dly, that the English Government shall have the right of making all the restrictions which it shall judge necessary. By the former stipulation, that Prince has been placed under the protection of the law of nations, which being founded on the principle of reciprocity, is not a guarantee in time of peace; the latter stipulation destroys even the semblance of the gua-

rantee which might appear to have been intended by the former. The English Bill, after violating every thing, in order to seize the person of this Prince, at that time the illustrious guest of England, immediately and precipitately delivers him up to all the fury of his personal enemies, who are animated by the basest passions. A legislative senate, which abandons an individual to arbitrary power, were he even the lowest of the human species, is wanting to itself, and misunderstands its sacred character.

It was asked, what need had Ministers to be invested with the right of making restrictions, since the law of nations was to be their rule? One of them answered, that it was in order that they might feel authorized in ordaining a more liberal treatment than was customary towards prisoners of war. Observers were not thus misled; they foresaw the secret views of the cabinet; they were grieved for the honour of their nation; results have justified, and daily continue to justify, their conjectures. This great man is dying upon a rock; he is dying a death sufficiently slow to be apparently natural:—an excess of cruelty hitherto unknown among nations. This Bill is more barbarous than if, like those of Sylla, it had

caused to be severed, at one blow, the head of this high enemy !

The right of making restrictions has been conferred by the Bill, on the Government, and the latter cannot delegate it. The restrictions ought to be invested with the forms of an act of Government, passed in council, and signed by the Prince. A single minister, therefore cannot exercise it ; yet thus it is, that the four restrictions have been adopted and published, which were printed at the time. They have been communicated at St. Helena only partially and verbally ; some articles in writing, extracted from the correspondence of the Minister, and as a simple act of his administration.

These restrictions are :

1. The detention at St. Helena.
2. The name imposed of General Bonaparte.
3. The prohibition from going abroad, upon the rock of St. Helena, otherwise than accompanied by an officer.
4. The obligation, first, of writing none but open letters, to be transmitted to the officer appointed to guard St. Helena ; and secondly, of receiving none but opened letters which have passed under the eye of the Minister.

These four restrictions are contrary to the law of nations. It was not therefore for the sake of ameliorating the lot of the detained persons that Ministers caused themselves to be invested with the right of making restrictions. No instance will be cited in the history of Great Britain or of France, in which prisoners of war were sent away to be in a state of detention in another hemisphere, and on an isolated rock in the midst of the seas. If the security of the detention had been the only object in view, there was no want of castles or of houses in England ; but it was the devouring climate of the tropic which was required !

Nor has the second restriction any relation to the security of the detention ; it has the effect of aggravating the condition of this Prince. Prisoners of war, when they fall into the power of the enemy, are legitimated by the title which they bore at home. But the Bourbons ceased not to reign in France ; the Republic and the fourth Dynasty were not legitimate governments. On what are these new principles founded ? If the English Government acknowledge that the Bourbons reigned in France at the time of the peace of Amiens, in 1802, they acknowledge that Cardinal York reigned in England at the treaty of Paris, in 1783 ; that Charles XIII. does not reign in

Sweden. To sanction these principles, is to throw all thrones into disorder; it is to propagate the germs of revolution among all nations.

It was well known that the Emperor ought not, could not, and never would avail himself of the condition contained in the third restriction. Therefore, it was calculated that he would not go out of an unwholesome dwelling. What relation could this restriction have to the security of the detention, on a precipitous rock, six hundred leagues from any continent, around which several brigs are cruising, where there is only a single anchorage, and the circumference of which may moreover be guarded by ten or twelve posts of infantry.

It was equally well known, that in order not to submit to the humiliation prescribed in the fourth restriction, he would not receive or write any letter. The correspondence between this remote island and Europe, may take place at most twice a year; eight or nine months must elapse before an answer arrives; how can a correspondence of this kind have any influence on the security of the detention, or on the tranquillity of Europe? But it takes away all moral consolation. It is to the soul, what this frightful climate is to the body. The end in view is approached by two ways at once!!

The officer commanding at St. Helena, could

be charged only with the guard, and with the execution of the restrictions: but this is not the case; he alone makes, unmakes, and remakes all the regulations and the restrictions, according to his own fancy, precipitately, and in forms illegal and obscure. No limits have been prescribed to the discretion, no resource against the passion, the caprice, and the folly of a single man. There is no council, no magistrate, no lawyer, no public opinion on this rock.

Does the minister then believe it to be impossible, that an officer appointed to guard St. Helena, will be guilty of abuse? But when he chooses him *ad hoc* from among men of a character, which was ascertained from preceding missions, is it not probable that he will commit abuse? And when he tells him, "*if the detained person escape, your honour and your fortune are lost;*" is not this as much as telling him to commit abuse? Is it not interesting him in it, by all that is dearest to man? A jailor in Europe cannot impose restrictions, even upon criminals, according to the measure of his alarm, his caprice, or his passion; he refers these points to magistrates of the administrative, or judiciary order, who determine upon them, and protect his responsibility; if such were not the case; there would be no dungeons safe enough in the eyes of the man responsible for the *détention*: For, after all, prisoners shut up in towers,

fettered and manacled, have found means to escape. In whatever situation living men are placed, they have always certain chances, more or less numerous, of regaining their liberty. Do you seek for a place in which to enclose a man, without any chance of freeing himself, without even a single chance in a thousand, you will find only one—a coffin !

If the problem be proposed of contriving a set of instructions, to give to the officer charged with the guard of St. Helena, so that the detained persons may be exposed to every kind of vexation and caprice, which may satisfy the most implacable hatred, without obliging it to unmask itself, and display its odious countenance ? After a man has been chosen, whose character and opinions are well known, he will be told “ you are to take all necessary measures to ensure the detention ; there will be no magistrate on the spot to receive complaints that may be made against you, nor can any arrive but through your channel, and in open letters, to a minister at the distance of two thousand leagues ; yourself alone, both judge and party, will prepare the information ; that information will be secret ; but, at the same time, if the detained person escape, your honour and your fortune are lost.” The problem will have been solved, but certainly by an abandonment of all

idea of justice, and of every humane feeling ; by destroying the Bill, or at least its literal and public sense. The savages who believe they have a right to devour their prisoners, would disclaim this excess of cruelty !

When the purpose has been to conceal the ultimate object, for which St. Helena was chosen, it has been said, such choice was made, *in order that the prisoners might enjoy more liberty.* But by the restrictions made, the instructions given, and the man chosen, it is shewn that the wish was, to prevent the cries of agony from reaching the Prince and the people of England. There was a dread of the indignation of generous hearts, and of men of worth, who have still some influence on the opinion of European nations.

Lord Bathurst in this speech declares two things : 1st, that Sir Hudson Lowe used only executive measures ; 2d, that all the communications of Government to St. Helena have been to the advantage of the persons detained. These two assertions are equally erroneous : see the document marked A, which contains eight or nine new restrictions, that would be considered vexatious and degrading at Botany Bay. Some articles only of the Minister's correspondence are here known. A letter, communicated in October, by the Colonel of the Comman-

dant's Staff, was full of improper expressions. Orders were given for instantly taking three of the twelve domestics who had followed Napoleon to St. Helena, and for sending them to the Cape of Good Hope. This letter cannot here be annexed, because it was not left, and a copy of it was refused ; there was an apprehension that it might one day be published. But, in consequence, the chef d'escadron, Pionkowsky, and three domestics, were sent to the Cape. It was insinuated, that all the French domestics would successively share the same lot, and that there would be none in attendance on the Emperor but those chosen by the Commandant of St. Helena. It will not be said, that those domestics had given cause of complaint, for they were not designated by name. They were made to perform a voyage of twelve hundred leagues to go to the Cape, and six hundred to return to St. Helena ; that is to say, a passage equal to that from St. Helena to Europe. They navigated thirty-five days in stormy seas, in order to return to the point from whence they had set out fifty days before, occasioning needless trouble and expense to the administration of the navy. If there was an objection to these domestics landing in the first instance, in England, might they not have been left to await the orders of the Ministry, at an anchorage, or at

Gibraltar. Count Lascases was subjected to this cruelty. All the French who shall be desirous of returning to their own country, must first incur these dangers, and experience this excessive fatigue; it is a general order of service. What contempt of Man? In short, the conduct, ever more and more illiberal, of the commandant of this place whenever ships have arrived from Europe; his repeated declarations that his instructions are not the same with those of his predecessor, that they are even of a darker nature than his conduct, all prove that the second assertion of Lord Bathurst, "*that his correspondence has been in favour of the persons detained,*" is not more accurate than the first, "*that Sir Hudson Lowe had taken only executive measures.*"

" Thus, then, when Napoleon Bonaparte represented
 " it was impossible for him to write to those to
 " whom he wished to write, it was not true." (2)

2. *It was not true.* The honourable orator contradicts himself. In fact, Count Montholon thus expresses himself in the annexed letter of the 23d August, marked B: "*It is the same spirit of hatred which has ordained, that the Emperor may not write or receive any letter, unless it be opened and read by the English ministers, and the officers of St. Helena. He has thus been*

denied the possibility of receiving news from his wife, his son, and his brothers.

—“ That he had not received letters from his relations
“ and friends in Europe, and that it was impossible
“ for him to receive them: this was not true.” (3)

3. *This was not true*:—to what does the expression apply? Count Montholon has not and cannot have alleged any complaint that Napoleon did not receive letters, since the latter declared that he would not receive any open.

“ As might be inferred from a letter of Sir George
“ Cockburn to him.” (4)

4. There has not and cannot have been any correspondence between Napoleon and the Officers of the English Government, since they are not agreed as to the title.

“ He did not know how he could discharge his duty if
“ he did not make himself acquainted with the na-
“ ture of such communication.” (5)

5. An assurance has been asked of the commandant of this place, that a letter to the Sovereign should be sent sealed to England. It was well known that he could not answer for what would be done with it in London.

If the king of England were not able to receive letters till the ministers had read them, England would not be a monarchy. At Venice, at Ragusa, at Lucca, the Doges and the Gonfaloniers were never subject to such an humiliation. It is probable that if a Minister opened a letter addressed to the Prince without being sanctioned by a general or special authority, for so doing, the Prince would withdraw from him his confidence. The English constitution has not tarnished with such a stain the crown of Edward and Elizabeth ; it would have been a stain on the nation itself. If Ministers are responsible before the tribunals, Kings are responsible before God and the people. How could the Monarch be informed of the faults of his Ministers ; admonish them or dismiss them ? They are not responsible for what the Prince knows, hears, or reads, but for the orders which he gives, for the measures which he takes ; then they ought to know every thing, in order that they may be able to advise the throne, with full cognizance of the case.

“ On the knowledge that attempts had been made
“ through the medium of newspapers to hold com-
“ munication with Napoleon.” (6)

6. Napoleon never demanded any thing. On arriving off Madeira, Count Bertrand inquired

if any French books were to be found there; they had very few. He made a list of books, and asked to address it to a bookseller of London or Paris. Admiral Cockburn declared that he should take charge of it. In June 1816 some chests were indeed received containing books, without any catalogue or explanation. It being perceived that there was no recent publication, and that even the collection of the *Moniteur* had been broken off at 1808, and the circumstance having been remarked that Count Montholon wrote the letter of the 23rd of August to the Governor of this island, he thought proper to make an observation upon it, in order to ascertain if this was a new restriction. A proof that there was nothing strange in this new restriction, is the avowal that no journals are to be sent to Longwood which may be wished for there, because "*attempts had been made through the medium of newspapers to hold communication with Napoleon.*" What a chimera! How is it to be conceived that at a distance of two thousand leagues from Europe, receiving journals so rarely, it were possible to correspond by these means? But, are there any journals printed at St. Helena? It was on similar pretexts that the jailors of the Inquisition and of the Council of Ten of Venice, interdicted not

only journals and books, but even paper, ink, and light.

“ The next complaint was, that he was not allowed “ to open an account with a bookseller: now, this “ was not true.” (7)

7. *This was not true.* The correspondence with a bookseller might be carried on by open letters. The officers correspond daily in this manner with their families; but it is easy to conceive that if the Morning Chronicle or the Edinburgh Review may afford place for a correspondence extremely dangerous to the safety of England, the correspondence with a bookseller is dangerous in a very different manner. In fact, as this bookseller might send three or four hundred volumes at once, time would be required for searching and going through them all; and besides, are there not sympathetic inks and secret alphabets? It is for this reason, that books sent by authors known in London, have been stopped at St. Helena. On the same inquisitorial principle, a botanist of Schoenbrunn having arrived in this place, where he resided several months, and having it in his power to give a father news of his son, whom he had seen at Vienna, the greatest care was taken to prevent him. Indeed it is to be conceived what danger might thence result to Great Bri-

tain. This botanist might be appointed to conclude a league offensive and defensive ! Count Lascases violently torn away from Longwood, in November 1816, was kept a month in secret before being sent to the Cape ; at the moment of his departure the Emperor desired to see him ; but Count Lascases might possibly receive communications capable of overthrowing Europe ! Yet he was sent to the Cape of Good Hope, where he was to wait several months for permission to proceed to Europe. He has been there six months, and his return is not yet spoken of.

“ Who had ever heard of an affectionate draught on a
“ banking house, or an enthusiastic order for the
“ sale of stock ? ” (8)

8 Where has it been said that a correspondence could not be held with a banker or agent ? Count Montholon, in the letter which is the object of the speech, says the contrary, and answers victoriously to the amiable pleasantry of the noble Lord. He thus expresses himself : *“ I had the honour to tell you, that the Emperor had no funds ; that for a year he had neither received nor written any letter, and that he was in complete ignorance as to what is passing, or may have been passing in Europe.*

" Transported by violence to this rock, at two
 " thousand leagues distance, without the power of
 " receiving or writing any letter, he now remains
 " entirely at the discretion of the English agents.
 " The Emperor has ever desired, and does desire
 " to provide for the whole of his expences, of every
 " kind, and he will do it as soon as you will ren-
 " der it possible, by removing the prohibition im-
 " posed on the merchants of the island, against
 " being of service to his correspondence, and by
 " ordering that it shall not be subjected to any
 " inquisition on your part, or on that of any of
 " your agents. As soon as the wants of the Em-
 " peror shall be known in Europe, the persons
 " who interest themselves concerning him, will
 " send the funds necessary for this provision,
 " &c. &c."

" That the letters sent by General Bonaparte or per-
 sons of his suite were read by subaltern officers :
 this was not true." (9)

9. *This was not true.* There has been a want of the respect due to private correspondence. The minister himself divulges this secret when he says in the face of Europe that Prince Joseph alone has written to the Emperor; and even that *was not true*; when he has spoken concerning the letters which are received and written by the French from St. Helena,

with persons, who, upon their arrival there, have conversed with the authors of these letters, and have reminded them of the contents. The Commandant of St. Helena has gone still farther: not only the contents of the letters have been the subject of conversation, but he has spoken reproachfully concerning them. Count Lascases, having lived ten years in England, was a warm enthusiast concerning the liberality of the English laws; he believed himself to have had some share in the Emperor Napoleon's determination to go on board the Bellerophon, and this reflection was grievous to his soul. He is almost blind; his son is attacked with a chronic disorder; he consoled himself with confiding his sorrows to the bosom of his friend Lady Clavering, who resides in London. Three or four successive times, and at long intervals, Sir Hudson Lowe, after having read them, reproached him concerning certain expressions, more or less animated, which they might contain. The ordinary shrewdness of that officer is to be recognised in the turn which he appears to have given to his ministerial correspondence. Indiscretions in certain things contained in the letters have been the subject of conversation in this little island. It is true that some articles of dress having been offered to Count Lascases he refused them, not because he would receive

nothing from the British Government, but that he might have nothing from the hand which offered them, and which had become to him so odious.

“ Now this was a direct falsehood, for which there
“ was not the smallest foundation.” (10)

10. The minister indignantly rejects the idea that letters arriving at St. Helena have been sent back to London. He is in the right; but he is indignant at the execution of his own instructions: they are positive. “ *No letter that comes to St. Helena, except through the Secretary of State, must be communicated to the General or his attendants, if it be written by a person not residing on the island, &c.*” The Commandant of this place had therefore to send back the letters which did not reach him by that channel, and if he had not done so, he would have swerved from his instructions. It is but a few days ago, that he forwarded to Count Bertrand, a chest containing school books, and some articles for children, which Lady Holland had sent for the Countess Bertrand. He began by declaring, that this chest had been addressed to him direct, that it had not passed through the Secretary of State’s office, but that he should however transmit it. Were it necessary to state the number of letters, of books, or other articles which have not been transmitted, by reason of this

part of the instructions, it would be seen that the case occurs very frequently. It is also true that sometimes, as in the instance here mentioned, the Commandant of this place has taken upon himself to depart from them, but merely according to his caprice, which is the worst of all.

“ No answer had been returned, &c. Indeed in the
 “ voluminous papers which had been transmitted
 “ from St. Helena, nothing was more painfully
 “ disgusting than the utter indifference to truth
 “ shown throughout.” (11)

11. The orator says here ; “ *No answer had been returned*” to the letter of Sir Hudson Lowe. Count Montholon answered it by the annexed letter marked C, which is a clear and positive answer. Might it not then be said, borrowing the language of the speech, “ *this was not true?*”

“ The complaint that all intercourse with the inhabitants was prevented, was untrue.” (12)

12. *Was untrue.* Communication with the inhabitants took place during the first nine months, but since the restrictions, of which a copy is annexed, (A), it has ceased entirely. The inhabitants who demanded passes, were subjected to two very long interrogatories ; the one to as-

certain what they had to do at Longwood, the other to ascertain what had there been said and done. There was ever an objection to give these passes otherwise than for a single fixed day; frequently they were refused. There is no society, no communication between Longwood and the inhabitants of St. Helena.

“ But those who had been detected in attempting to
“ approach him in disguise or in false characters.”
(13)

13. An insidious insinuation! There was not one.

“ That he had been prevented from having any inter-
“ course with the officer of the garrison: there was
“ no foundation for this.” (14)

14. Until the month of August, the officers of the 53d daily formed part of the society of the Countess Bertrand, who, having been educated in England, speaks English. But since the restrictions (A) which began to be in force in August, they have been seen no more, for the same reasons which prevented the inhabitants from continuing their visits. This prohibition of all communication is necessary, in order that the world may not have the means of knowing the criminal conduct pursued by the officer appointed to guard St. Helena.

“ When he supposed the prohibition which he so much
“ lamented, to have existed.” (15)

15. The first proceedings of Sir Hudson Lowe in this place were insults. A short time after his arrival, he endeavoured to induce the officers and domestics of the suite of Napoleon to abandon him. He wished to change the physician at Longwood, and to appoint one of his own choice. At a later period, he sent away part of the French domestics, hinting at an intention of sending them all away in succession, and of allowing no domestics at Longwood but those of his own choosing, taken from among the inhabitants of the island or the soldiers of the colonial battalion. In the month of August he put the restrictions in force (A), causing them to be executed clandestinely, denying, at the same time, that he had made any change in the order established by his predecessor. At length, in the month of October, he found himself constrained to communicate them; but, persisting in his indirect course, he did not acquaint the English officers with them, ashamed to avow such sentiments in presence of his countrymen, and doubtless fearing that they themselves, at the sight of restrictions so senseless, might seek to discover what could be their secret aim. The

same mystery is observed in the placing of sentinels, and the perpetual changing of orders: frequently the officers do not receive them direct, and learn them only from the serjeants; and the orderly officer at Longwood being not always apprized of them, cannot caution the French, who are thus exposed to be insulted by the sentinels. One of these strange orders was to stop every suspicious person; now whom will an English soldier sooner suspect than a Frenchman? wherefore, on several occasions, although within the precincts, Baron Gourgaud was stopped while taking his walk. Attempts were made to raise the English spirit among the body of officers of the garrison, and to rouse all that might remain of hatred against their former enemy: contemptuous expressions with regard to the English soldiers were imputed to him. He thought it his duty to send for the orderly officer stationed at Longwood, Mr. Poppleton, as first Captain of the 53d: he charged him to tell his comrades that what had been said to them was a calumny; that he loved brave soldiers, and that he was pleased with the conduct of the officers and soldiers of that regiment. This officer's answer was what, under such circumstances, a man of honour would make.

“ On this ground therefore it could not be objected
 “ that there was an unreasonable degree of re-
 “ straint.” (16)

16. The orator here says: “ *That range was not reduced till it had been found that he had abused that confidence reposed in him by tampering with the inhabitants.*” How could that be possible, since from the month of May 1816, Napoleon has not been on horseback, and has ceased to go out of doors? How does Lord Bathurst reconcile this assertion with the declaration that is made by the Commandant of this place, by the second article of the Restrictions annexed (A), which prescribes the reduction of the precincts, and which he thus accounts for: “ *The road to the left of Hutsgate, and returning by Woody Ridge to Longwood, never having been frequented by General Bonaparte since the Governor's arrival, the post which observed it, will for the greater part be withdrawn,*” &c. How does he reconcile it with his own declaration, “ *and if no attempts were made to effect that escape, there would not be wanting some from false motives of compassion, to reproach him for those restrictions which had probably prevented these attempts from being made.*” They have not, then, been made. What a contradiction! what calumny to justify a culpable conduct! Besides, the precincts have

been in fact annulled by the following articles of the Restrictions, (A.) Article I. "*Longwood, with the road along the ridge by Hutsgate to the signal-gun, near the alarm-house, will be established as the limits: sentries will designate the external boundary.*" Article IV.—" *It is requested, therefore, General Bonaparte will abstain from entering any houses, or engaging in conversation with the persons he may meet, (except so far as the ordinary salutations of politeness, with which every one will be instructed to treat him, may appear to require), unless in the presence of a British officer,*" &c. It is evident that the aim of these restrictions was to tarnish or to outrage the characters of the detained persons, and to give occasion for quarrels with the sentries. The Minister says, the limits have been reduced only one-third; they are reduced to a road twelve feet wide; they are virtually annulled, or at least as respects the principal personage; since, the tendency being to outrage him, and to compromise him with the sentries, he has been obliged to cease going out, in order to cut short such pretexts, and shelter himself from all these insults. The end will be the sooner attained !!!

“ To reproach him for those restrictions which had probably prevented those attempts from being made, &c.” (17)

17. In the opinion of military and naval men, if there were not any land guard at St. Helena, the brigs alone which cruise round the isle might suffice to render all egress impossible, or in other words, to give ninety-nine chances to the keeper, and scarcely one to the prisoners. But the chances become still more in favour of the keeper if he places eight or ten infantry posts of nine men each, on the promontories; thus through the intervention of the existing batteries, the sentries would be all in sight, and any guard in the interior of the isle would be of no use.

“ And it was not the custom for Lieutenant Governors to choose the most unpleasant and unwholesome places.” (18)

18. The Lieutenant Governor had a large handsome house in town where he could reside, especially in winter; Count Montholon thus expresses himself respecting Longwood in the letter of the 23d August. “ *The Emperor has been established at Longwood, a spot exposed to all winds, a barren uninhabited tract, destitute*

of water, unsusceptible of any culture, &c. The house at Longwood was built to serve as a barn to the company's farm: subsequently the Lieutenant Governor had some rooms fitted up there; it was used as his country house, but it was in no wise suitable for a dwelling. For a year past men have been constantly at work there; and the Emperor has been continually enduring the unwholesomeness and inconvenience of a house in a state of building. The room in which he sleeps is too small to hold a bed of ordinary dimensions; but any new erection at Longwood would only prolong the inconvenience occasioned by the workmen," &c.

“ So many alterations were made at Longwood that
 “ General Bonaparte remained in that room three
 “ months.” (19)

19. This is adding irony to the worst proceedings. Napoleon never had the choice of his establishment at St. Helena; even to this day he does not know the island. The Nor- thumberland anchored in the road of James Town, on the 15th October, 1815; there was an eagerness to land, after a three months' voyage. For the women and children this was still more necessary; yet the Admiral intimated that, according to Lord Bathurst's instructions, the French were to remain on board until their

establishments were prepared. This intelligence occasioned consternation even to the ship's company, who were to remain under orders during that time. The Admiral went on shore twenty-four hours afterwards; he said that the isle was wretched, that all the houses he had seen were small cottages having only two rooms; that, according to the information he had collected, there was nothing suitable in the whole island except three houses, the choice of which was forbidden him by his instructions; the castle, or town residence of the Governor, the town house of the Lieutenant Governor, and Plantation House, the country seat of the Governor; the two former because they were in town. Why was Plantation House excluded? This is a mystery which can only be explained by the whole of the measures! The Admiral said that being thus bound by his instructions, he had chosen Longwood; that it had four rooms, and that in two or three months the ship carpenters might make the necessary additions of wood; that he comprehended all that there would be of barbarity in the execution of his instructions, in leaving the French on board for three months longer; that he was therefore going to land them in twenty-four hours, and had for this purpose engaged a furnished hotel near the castle. This abode was doubtless preferable to the Northumber-

land, but for the Emperor it was insupportable. He occupied a small chamber on the first floor, and was exposed to all the annoyance of public curiosity. At break of day he mounted on horseback and proceeded to Longwood. Its aspect appeared to him frightful, but any thing was preferable to the town. It was his wish, therefore, to have settled there immediately, even under a tent. On his return, at the eminence of the Briars, he had an invincible repugnance to re-entering the furnished hotel in the town. He preferred occupying a room, fifteen feet square, in the cottage of the Briars. He would have preferred the hovel of a *paria*. Since the French were temporarily placed in town, they might have been placed there conveniently, if they had been all lodged in the Castle, the town residence of the Governor, he being then at Plantation House. That residence having spacious apartments, a court-yard, and a terrace, had none of the inconveniences of the furnished hotel.

“ That he was unwilling to remove from Mr. Balcomb’s,
“ on account of the facility of communication with
“ the town.” (20)

20. An odious insinuation! A stay was made of fifty-three days at the Briars; Longwood was inhabited a month too soon; the day

of arriving there, being the next after that, when it had been painted with oil paint, within and without. For more than three months, eighty or a hundred workmen continued to encumber the vicinity of the house, and to occasion a great inconvenience.

“ During his residence there, he was circumscribed to a small garden, beyond which he never moved without a guard: he did not, however, at that time make any complaint.” (21)

21. There was no guard at the Briars. The annexed, marked D, is the complaint addressed on the 24th of October, 1815, at the time of the departure of the first ship for England.

“ Orders were given to send out a frame for the purpose of constructing a house for General Bonaparte.” (22)

22. Seven or eight store ships arrived in May and June, 1816, in the road of James Town, laden with materials worth about sixty thousand pounds sterling, wood, tiles, &c. proper for building a house. At a later period, the store ship, Adolphus, brought about sixteen or twenty thousand pounds worth of iron gratings. The carriage of these materials from the sea, up to the mountain, the purchase of land, and the expenses of building, have been

estimated at sixty thousand pounds sterling, allotted into six years of labour. Therefore, a sum of one hundred and eighty thousand pounds sterling, had been destined by the English Government, for providing, in the course of six years, a dwelling for the detained persons. In consenting to so considerable an expense, consequently, the Minister was convinced that there was no suitable house upon this rock, but that of Plantation House; in this case, why did he exclude that? The pretext that it cannot be guarded without much difficulty, is ridiculous and untenable. Plantation House is more easily to be guarded than Longwood; the reason of this singular exclusion is, therefore, a mystery. But did there not exist an obligation of providing an abode at St. Helena? Was this obligation to be fulfilled, by excluding the three only houses in the island, that were proper for this purpose, and by sending an edifice in carmine and Indian ink, with building materials, and an assurance that there would be a house in six years? Upon the most frightful spot in the world, all necessary measures have been taken to render unavailable the local resources of this poor place. The establishment is as bad as possible. How can it be conceived, that all this is without a purpose!

“ Sir Hudson Lowe wrote to the General, whether he
 “ would like to have a new house erected, or ad-
 “ dition made to the old one; he received no
 “ answer.” (23)

23. The Commandant of this place wrote on the 7th July, 1816, to Count Montholon: the latter replied on the next day, the 8th, by the annexed letter, marked E. An answer could not have been more prompt, or more explicit: He says, “ *If you have instructions to build, it would be preferable that this should be done in the cultivated part of the isle,*” &c. “ *The idea of adding wings to the building of Longwood, would be attended with every kind of inconvenience,*” &c.

“ While he knew that in two or three years, either the
 “ administration in this country would be over-
 “ turned, or a change would take place in the Go-
 “ vernment of France, and, in either case, he should
 “ be released.” (24)

24. *This is not true.* That answer might be expected from the mouth of an insane, or intoxicated man. Is that the supposition that is wished to be propagated? Count Montholon’s letter of the 8th July, 1816, has already been cited. After that letter, the matter was no longer brought into notice; previous to it, the

question was, concerning this wooden house ; the Emperor said, “ *that he could consider such a structure, in no other light than as a mockery ; that if there were a wish to furnish him with an abode, that might have been suitably done at the moment of his arrival ; that, moreover, it was to be proved by calculation, that six years would be required for the carriage of the materials to the eminence, and for the construction of the house ; that in six years it was very evident he should have no need of it ; that they suffered him to want a convenient habitation (though there were such in the island) while he needed it, in order to give him one at a period when he should want only a grave. That all this bore upon an evil thought ! !* ”

These remarks of the Emperor were made a fortnight or a month before Count Montholon’s letter, annexed, marked E, which will be evident on an attentive perusal of that letter. This is important ; and it was not without design, that the remarks were said to have been made after the letter.

“ With all that could be considered as suitable for a person in his situation.” (25)

25. The first instructions of the Ministry, stated, that treasure would be found on board the Bellerophon ; that Admiral Cockburn was

to seize it; that it was to be placed in the Bank of England, and that the interest was to be employed in defraying all the expenses of maintenance at St. Helena. The Admiral found no treasure; on arriving at St. Helena, he was embarrassed on the score of expense; he expressed some concern at the defect of his instructions. Yet he went beyond them: nothing was asked of him by the French; he arranged matters as he chose. He estimated the ordinary (annual) expense at eighteen thousand pounds sterling. The new Commandant valued it in May, 1816, at nineteen thousand pounds sterling. In the July following, he received fresh orders; he communicated them, and on the 17th of August he wrote the annexed letter, marked F, to Count Moutholon, and thus expressed himself: "*having used all efforts to effect a reduction in them,*" (the expenses of the establishment at Longwood) "*I am now enabled to transmit to you, for General Bonaparte's information, two statements, furnishing sufficiently precise data whereon to found a calculation of the probable annual expense,*" &c. . . . "*The instructions I have received from the British government, direct me to limit the expenditure of General Bonaparte's establishment to £8000 per annum. They give the liberty at the same time to admit of any further expense being*

incurred which he may require, as to table and so forth, beyond what this sum would cover, provided he furnished the funds whereby the surplus charges may be defrayed. I am now therefore under the necessity of requesting you would make known to him the impossibility I am under of bringing the expenses of his household, on its present establishment in point of numbers, within the limits prescribed, unless I make such a reduction under several heads as might naturally abridge from conveniences which the persons around him now enjoy," &c. " I beg leave to request being informed, previous to attempting any further considerable reduction which might prove inconvenient to him, or to the persons of his suite, if he is content such an attempt should be made, or if he is willing to place at my command sufficient funds to meet the extra charges which must otherwise be unavoidably incurred," &c. By the statements which he annexed to the letter, that officer proved that nineteen thousand pounds sterling would be required to meet all expenses; that upon this sum, five thousand five hundred pounds sterling were a fixed charge for the maintenance of the buildings, which are in very bad repair, for the wages of the purveyor, for conveyance from the town to the mountain, for the table of the officers on guard, and for the stables: that there remain then thirteen thou-

sand five hundred pounds sterling, which, di-
vided among thirty-nine individuals who com-
posed the household at Longwood, would be
fourteen shillings a head *per diem*, which, in this
country, where the prices are four times those
of London, are equal to three shillings and six-
pence, for the supply of all wants, lighting,
firing, table, and other household purposes. To
this demand of Sir Hudson Lowe, an answer
was given in the postscript of the letter of the
23d August, and in the latter part of the letter
of the 9th of September, already quoted, marked
B and C. These answers are explicit. Things
were very bad, even when the officer appointed
to guard St. Helena, had a credit of twenty
thousand pounds sterling; but when he had no
more than eight thousand pounds, in conse-
quence of the decision of Lord Bathurst, there
did not remain what was physically necessary.
From this sum of eight thousand pounds sterling,
must be taken five thousand five hundred pounds
for fixed expenses; there remained then two
thousand five hundred pounds sterling for house-
keeping, or ten-pence a day to each man; this is
a soldier's pay. Even the necessary supply of
bread was discontinued. The house-steward
caused the plate to be cut up on the 20th Oc-
tober, and sold nine hundred and fifty-two
ounces of it; on the 9th November, twelve

hundred and twenty-seven ounces ; and on the 30th December, two thousand and forty-eight ; and by these means effected the requisite supplies : the Governor appointed the banker who was to purchase this silver, and fixed the rate at five shillings the ounce. The resource of silver is exhausted ; at present, on the first of June, the means of subsistence arise from thirteen bills of exchange, of three hundred pounds sterling each, payable monthly, for effects which Count Lascases had in London at his own disposal, which he offered and lent in January, 1817. The question here is very simple ; either the English government are obliged to furnish the supplies that are wanted, and these wants have been determined by the officers on a principle of strict necessity, and on a parsimonious scale ; or if they do not conceive themselves so obliged, let them allow a correspondence with Europe, as was said in the postscript of the letter of the 23d August, and let them permit ships to be sent to procure what is wanting. This place affords nothing, not even wood ; the very fuel is sent from England, and the meat from Africa. But to be unwilling to furnish what is necessary, and not to allow it to be procured, is the height of injustice and tyranny. It is making a sport of obligations and of all duties !

It is affording a surmise of what thoughts are entertained! They had better be openly avowed.

“ If he thought any additional luxury necessary beyond
“ what could be provided for the sum fixed in this
“ country, his Majesty’s ministers were inclined to
“ allow it.” (26.)

26. See the paragraph above quoted, of the letter of the Commandant of this place, “ the instructions I have received,” &c.

“ And he assured Sir Hudson Lowe, that he might
“ advance the money with safety, because he had no
“ doubt that his draft would be accepted.” (27.)

27. A fable to screen a most shameful proceeding! Having no banker, no offer could ever have been made to draw bills of exchange; and it has been positively declared in the letter of the 23d of August, that there existed a complete ignorance as to what is passing in Europe. And it is upon similar conceptions or pretexts that existing treaties were violated, in not paying the two millions of francs according to engagement, for meeting the expenses of the administration of the guard of the isle of Elba, a want of good faith which was at first laughed at, and which was disavowed after the event of the 20th March, 1815. But of what use is this discussion? To prove that engagements that have been entered

into ought not to be fulfilled, or, that they ought to be but imperfectly discharged, as they have been. Napoleon has had under his orders chests kept by Lords of the Treasury at Paris, Amsterdam, Milan ; but he never had a banker.

“ In stating this, he did not mean to say this, because
 “ General Bonaparte possessed funds, and even large
 “ funds.” (28.)

28. Yes ; such as the treasures of the *Bellerophon* !

“ To come out of the funds and large funds at his
 “ own disposal.” (29.)

29. But do you wish to ascertain the treasures, which are even very considerable, of Napoleon ; they are in open daylight ; they are the fine basin of Antwerp, that of Flushing, capable of containing the most numerous naval squadrons, and of sheltering them from the ice and the sea ; they are the hydraulic works of Dunkirk, of Havre, and of Nice ; the gigantic basin of Cherbourg, the maritime works of Venice, the fine roads from Wesel to Hamburg, from Antwerp to Amsterdam, from Mayence to Metz, from Bordeaux to Bayonne : the causeways of the Simplon, of Mount Cenis, of Mount Genèvre, of the *Corniche*, which open the Alps in

four directions: (there alone you will find more than eighty millions :) causeways which surpass in boldness, in grandeur, and in labour of art, all the works of the Romans! The roads from the Pyrenees to the Alps, from Parma to Spezzia, from Savona into Piedmont; the bridges of Jena, of Austerlitz, of the Arts, of Sèvres, of Tours, of Rouane, of Lyons, of Turin, of the Isère, of the Durance, of Bordeaux, of Rouen, &c. The canal which, by the Doubs joins the Rhine to the Rhone, connecting the seas of Holland with the Mediterranean; that which joins the Scheldt to the Somme, connecting Amsterdam with Paris; that which joins the Rance to the Vilaine; the canal of Arles; that of Pavia; that of the Rhine; the drainage of the marshes of Begouin, of the Cotentin, of Rochefort; the rebuilding of most of the churches demolished during the Revolution; the building of many new ones; the building of a great number of houses of industry, for the extirpation of mendicity; the construction of the Louvre, of public granaries, of the Exchange, of the canal of Ourcq, the distribution of its waters in the city of Paris; the drains and sewers, the quays, the embellishments and the monuments of that great capital. The labours of embellishment carried on at Rome; the re-establishment of Lyons and its manufac-

tures ; the creation of several hundred cotton manufactures both for spinning and weaving, in which several millions of hands are employed. The funds vested for creating more than four hundred manufactures of sugar from beet-root, for the consumption of a part of France, and which, encouraged for four years, would have sufficed for the consumption of the empire, affording sugar at the price of that of the Indies. The encouragement given to the establishments for separating the fæculæ of the woad plant, and for extracting from them an indigo as cheap and as perfect as that of the colonies. The numbers of manufactures of objects of art, &c. Fifty millions employed in repairing the palaces of the crown, and embellishing them ; sixty millions of value in furniture, placed in the palaces of the crown of France, of Holland, of Turin, of Rome ; sixteen millions of crown diamonds, all purchased with the money of Napoleon ; the Regent diamond alone existing of the ancient crown of France, and even that he had redeemed from the Jews of Berlin, to whom it was pledged for three millions. The Museum Napoleon, estimated at more than four hundred millions, and containing only objects legitimately acquired by purchase, or by the conditions of public treaties of peace, and which were commuted for cession of territory, or for contribu-

tions. Several millions vested for the encouragement of agriculture, that primary interest of France ; the institution of horse-races ; the introduction of Merinos, &c. All this forms a treasure of several milliards, which will exist for ages, and will remain for the confounding of calumny ! History will say that it was amidst great wars, without any loans, and on the other hand with a diminution of the public debt, reducing the revenue to less than fifty millions, that all this was done. Very considerable sums still existed in his private treasure, and these were guaranteed to him by the treaty of Fontainbleau, as savings effected on the civil list and other private revenues ; these were shared, and did not go wholly into the public treasures, nor wholly into that of France !!!

“ To every complaint proceeding from them, there
“ would be no end of their complaining.” (30.)

30. There is a want of every thing at St. Helena. (1) Lord Bathurst's calculations on this subject are erroneous. The orator is pleased to agitate in public, certain matters which have in their nature something mean, and tending to the ridiculous. What a contemptuous expression in the tone and general manner of the hon. minister! This is observable also in the part of his cor-

respondence, of which a communication has been received. In fifteen or twenty generations, on reading the speech and the orders of Lord Bathurst, his descendants will disown being of the same blood with him, who, by a mixture of savage hatred and ridiculous pusillanimity, tarnished the moral character of the English people, at a time when their triumphant flag covered the globe!

The Minister's speech, therefore, contains twenty erroneous assertions, to each of which might be applied the favourite formula of *was not true*. This affords a presumption, that the author made it on false information ; that he is deceived by a faithless mandatary, and that he is kept in the dark as to what is passing on this rock. Count Montholon preferred no complaint on these points, namely, 1st, that open letters could not be sent to relatives ; 2d, that open letters could not be received ; 3d, that it was not possible to write to one's banker.

It has been proved, 4thly, that the Minister gave orders to deteriorate the situation of the detained persons ; and to this effect have been mentioned, the departure of three French domestics, sent away by his orders, and the improper letter, of which no copy was allowed to be left. 5th, That Sir Hudson Lowe has instructions quite different from those of his pre-

decessor, which is testified by his own assertion publicly repeated. 6th, That he has made restrictions, and those of the most foolish kind, if they do not involve a criminal thought! In support of this evidence, has been produced the document, marked A, which seems to be unknown to the Minister. 7th, That Count Montholon answered the demand for explanation, made by Sir Hudson Lowe, on that part of his dispatch of the 23d August, which treats of letters brought to this place, and sent back to England, because they had not arrived through the channel of the Secretary of State's office; and in support has been adduced the document, marked C, containing that answer, of which the Minister appears to have no knowledge. 8th, That Count Montholon replied to the offer of the wooden house in twenty-four hours after the receipt of Sir Hudson Lowe's letter on the subject; and in support of this is annexed the document D, containing that answer, of which the Minister seems to have no knowledge: subsequently, that house has been out of the question. 9th, That the respect due to a private correspondence has not been observed. 10th, That all communication is prevented with the inhabitants. 11th, That all communication with the officers is prevented. 12th, That no proposal has been made to draw

bills of exchange on a banker; it is a fable. 13th, That there was never a change of opinion respecting the inconvenience of the house of Longwood. 14th, That Plantation-House is more easily to be guarded than any other place in the island. 15th, That the wants of the establishment at Longwood have not been supplied; the estimates attempted to be made on this subject are erroneous. 16th, That no correspondence has been attempted, nor can any be established by means of the journals, in a country so remote as this, and where there is no printing.

It has been proved that this speech gives currency to four insidious calumnies; viz. 17th, that there was a wish to prolong the stay at the Briars, *on account of the facility of communication with the town.* 18th, *That men have been discovered attempting to approach in disguise, and with false characters.* 19th, *That the precincts were narrowed, because attempts had been made to seduce the inhabitants and the soldiers.* 20th, *That it was said, he knew, that in two or three years, the English Administration would be overthrown, or that changes would take place in the Government of France, and that in either case he would be at liberty.*

Another minister, at a meeting in Ireland, (according to the journals), stated that Napoleon

has declared at St. Helena, that he had never made peace with England, but to deceive her, to surprise her, and to destroy her. These calumnies against a man whom they are oppressing with so much barbarity, that they hold him by the throat to prevent him from speaking, will be reprobated by every well-born man who has a heart.

The same minister said in the House of Commons, in the session of 1816, that if the French army was attached to the Emperor, it was because he gave in marriage the daughters of the richest families in his empire to his soldiers. He would find it difficult to cite a single example. But they have a right to say what they will concerning the time when Napoleon was placed on the first throne in the world : all his conduct was public ; it belongs to the province of opinion and of history. Thousands of libels have appeared, and do appear daily ; they are of no effect : sixty millions of men, of the most polished countries in the universe, raise their voice to confound them ; and fifty thousand English, who are now traversing the continent, will carry home opinion and truth to the people of the three kingdoms, who will blush at having been so grossly deceived !

It has been proved, that the bill of the 11th of April, is an act of proscription, like those of

Sylla ; that it lays hands on a prince, the illustrious guest of England, in order to give him up to the discretion of the Government, without affording him any legislative guarantee ; that there can be no prisoners of war in time of peace ; that the Government has violated the bill, even in delegating the right of making restrictions to one of its ministers ; a right with which it alone is invested ; that that minister has violated it by delegating to an individual officer a power which the bill granted only to the Government ; that the choice of the frightful rock of St. Helena, that of Longwood also ; the privation of all that is necessary to life, moral, as well as physical ; the restrictions of Lord Bathurst ; the character of the man appointed to guard St. Helena ; the restrictions which he has made and re-made ; his conduct, at once insidious, ignoble, and violent ; that all, in short, is co-ordained to make this great man perish in the torments of an agony, sufficiently long to cause his death to appear natural. This conduct violates all the principles of religion, and the rights of man, even in the savage state. How much more frank would the English Government have been, if they had ordered to be severed, at one blow, the head of this illustrious enemy ! A speedy and sanguinary death would

have been more humane, and the English character would have been less stained with it.

The Romans pursued Hannibal to the farther end of Bithynia ; Flaminius obtained from King Prusias the death of that great man. But even at Rome, Flaminius was accused of having acted thus for the satisfaction of his private hatred. In vain did he allege that Hannibal, still in the vigour of his age, might be dangerous ; that his destruction was useful. A thousand voices answered, that what is unjust and ungenerous can never be advantageous to a great nation ; that such pleas would justify assassination, poison, and every crime ! Succeeding generations reproached this cowardice in their ancestors ; they would willingly have effaced such a stain from their history. Since the revival of letters among modern nations, not a generation has arisen which has not concurred in the imprecations which Hannibal, when about to swallow the hemlock, pronounced against Rome, who, at a time when her fleets and legions covered Europe, Asia, and Africa, wreaked her wrath on a single unarmed man, whom she dreaded, or pretended to dread. But the Romans never violated hospitality. Sylla found refuge in the house of Marius. Flaminius, before he proscribed Hannibal, did not re-

ceive him on board his ship; (ii.) he did not declare to him that he had orders to bid him welcome; the Roman fleet did not carry him to the port of Ostia, paying him all the honours due to his rank. Far from having recourse to the protection of the Roman laws, Hannibal chose to trust himself with the kings of Asia. When he was proscribed, he was not reposing under the Roman standards; he was under the insignia of kings, hostile to the Roman people. When in the revolutions of ages, a king of England shall be brought before the dread tribunal of the nation, his defenders will insist on the august character of king, the respect due to the throne, to every crowned head, to the anointed of the Lord. But will not his adversaries be able to answer—one of his ancestors proscribed his guest in time of peace, not daring to put him to death in the presence of a people who had fixed laws and public forms; he caused his victim to be exposed on the most unwholesome part of a rock situated in the midst of the ocean, in another hemisphere: this man perished there, after a painful agony, tormented by the climate, by want, by outrages of all kinds? Well! this man was also a great sovereign, raised on the buckler of thirty-six millions of citizens, who was master of almost all the

capitals of Europe ; who saw at his court the greatest kings. He was generous towards all ; he was for twenty years the arbiter of nations ; his family was allied to all the sovereign families, even to that of England ; he was twice the anointed of the Lord, twice consecrated by religion !!

NOTES.

(I.) One word here. The Emperor has not eaten bread for several months, on account of the bad quality of the flour. Whatever is sent to this place is the refuse of the magazines of Europe ; and if there had been sent from London, expressly for Longwood, what is necessary for a house, not of a prince, but of a private individual, who has an income of five thousand pounds sterling a year at Paris, this supply would have cost the English treasury, not merely eight thousand, but eighty thousand pounds sterling. The English ministry therefore do but very inadequately fulfil their obligations.

(II.) When the Emperor quitted the *Bellerophon*, on the 8th August, the officers and ship's company were in consternation : they felt implicated in the shame and the injustice of such a procedure. Napoleon traversed the deck to descend into the sloop, with calmness, and with a smile upon his lips, having at his side Admiral Keith. He stopt before Captain Maitland ; charged him to testify his satisfaction to the officers and crew of the *Bellerophon* ;

and, seeing him extremely grieved, said to him, by way of consolation, “ *Posterity cannot, in any way, accuse you for what is taking place: you have been deceived, as well as myself.*” Napoleon enjoyed, during twenty-four days, the protection of the British flag; he sojourned in the inner roads of Torbay and Plymouth; and, it was not until after that lapse of time, on the 7th of August, when passing on board the Northumberland, that Admiral Keith disarmed the French; the delivering up of arms being one of the characteristics of prisoners of war. In form of procedure, the arms of the Emperor were not demanded.

(III.) The observations on Lord Bathurst’s speech were written in the beginning of June, 1817. Four months have elapsed since that period. The bad proceedings of the Commandant of the place have gone on augmenting: the detail of them would be very long, and would exceed the limits of a Note: it would make known some extraordinary things, certainly unexampled in history.

Oct. 1st, 1817.

(IV.) In the latter end of September, a banker having some accounts to settle with Count Bertrand, repaired to Longwood: he was shocked at the

bad state of the Emperor's health. "*It is true,*" said the latter, "*my legs swell, and the scurvy is in my gums; they are assassinating me, even in violating their bill in parliament.*" This merchant hastened, it appears, to report to the Commandant of the place what he had seen; the latter deemed it his duty to go next day, (Sunday), to the house of Count Bertrand, to ask him earnestly why the Emperor did not get on horseback and take exercise? Count Bertrand, in consequence, wrote to him the annexed letter, marked H.

Oct. 1st, 1817.

LETTER
FROM THE EMPEROR TO COUNT LASCASES.

MY DEAR COUNT LASCASES,

My heart sensibly feels what you endure ; torn away fifteen days ago from my presence, you were shut up during that period in secret, without my being able to receive, or give you, any news, without your having communicated with any one, French or English ; deprived even of the servant of your choice.

Your conduct at St. Helena has been, like your life, honourable, and without reproach : I love to tell you so.

Your letter to one of your friends, a lady in London, has nothing in it that is reprehensible ; you there pour forth your whole heart into the bosom of friendship. That letter is like eight or ten others, which you have written to the same person, and which you have sent unsealed. The Commandant of this place having had the delicacy to sift out the expressions which you confide to friendship, has reproached you with them. Latterly he threatened to send you away from the island, if your letters contained any more complaints against him. He has, by

so doing, violated the first duty of his place, the first article of his instructions, and the first sentiment of honour. He has thus authorized you to seek the means of conveying the effusions of your feelings to the bosom of your friends, and of acquainting them with the culpable conduct of the Commandant. But you have been very artless: it has been very easy to take your confidence by surprise.

They were waiting for a pretext to seize your papers; but your letter to your London friend could not authorize a police visit to you; for it contains no plot, no mystery; it is simply the expression of a noble and frank heart. The illegal and precipitate conduct pursued on this occasion bears the stamp of a very base personal hatred.

In countries the least civilized, exiles, prisoners, and even criminals, are under the protection of the laws, and of the magistrates. The persons appointed to guard them, have chiefs, either in the administrative or judicial order, who superintend them. Upon this rock, the man who makes the most absurd regulations, executes them with violence; transgresses all laws; and there is no one to restrain the excesses of his temper.

They envelop Longwood with a mystery,

which they would wish to render impenetrable, in order to conceal a criminal conduct ; and this leaves room for suspecting the most criminal intentions !!

By some rumours artfully spread, it was wished to mislead the officers, strangers, inhabitants, and even the Agents who are said to be maintained by Austria and Russia in this place ; doubtless, the English government is deceived in the same way by adroit and fallacious statements.

Your papers, among which it was known that there were some belonging to me, have been seized without any formality, near my apartment, with a marked and ferocious exultation. I was apprized of this a few moments afterwards : I looked through the window, and saw that they were taking you away. A numerous staff was parading round the house ; I could fancy I saw so many South Sea islanders dancing round the prisoners whom they were going to devour.

Your society was necessary to me : you alone read, spoke, and understood English. How many nights have you sat up, during my fits of sickness ! Yet I enjoin you, and if need be, I order you, to request the Commandant of this place to send you back to the Continent. He

cannot refuse that, since he has no control over you, but by the voluntary act which you have signed. It will be a great consolation to me to know, that you are on your way to more fortunate countries.

On arriving in Europe, whether you go to England, or return home, dismiss the remembrance of the ills which they have made you suffer; boast of the fidelity which you have shewn me, and of the great affection which I bear you.

If you should one day see my wife and my son, embrace them. For two years, I have not heard from them, directly or indirectly. There has been for six months in this place a German botanist who saw them in the garden of Schoenbrünn, some months before his departure; the barbarians have carefully prevented him from giving me any news from them.

My body is in the power of the hatred of my enemies; they forget nothing which can glut their vengeance. They are killing me by inches. But the insalubrity of this devouring climate, the want of every thing that sustains life, will, I feel, put a speedy end to this existence, the last moments of which will be an opprobrium on the English character; and Europe will one day signalize with horror that crafty and wicked man, whom true Englishmen will disown as a Briton.

As there is every reason to think, that you will not be permitted to come to see me before your departure, receive my embraces, the assurance of my esteem, and my friendship. Be happy. (Signed) NAPOLEON.

11th December, 1816.

OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS

In Support of the Observations on Lord Bathurst's Speech in the House of Peers, on the 18th of March, 1817.

A.

Restrictions made by Sir Hudson Lowe, and communicated to Longwood, on the 9th of October, 1816; but which he had already put in execution by different orders, ever since the month of August preceding, and which he never communicated to the English officers of the service, ashamed, no doubt, of their contents.

Observations.

I. The predecessor of Sir Hudson Lowe had extended the line

Text of the Restrictions.

Heads of some proposed Alterations in the Regulations hitherto established for the Persons under charge at Longwood.

I. Longwood, with the road along the ridge, by Hutsgate, to the

Observations.

of the limits over the summits of the hills; but having perceived, a fortnight afterwards, that by altering the sentry posts a little, he should comprise within the precincts, the house and garden of the Secretary, General Bruck, he hastened to make that improvement.

About eighty toises from the road, is the garden of Corbett, where there are eight or ten oaks, which affords some shade; there is a fountain, and some cool air. The new restriction, by allowing only the road, has substituted a mere line for this surface, and has excluded from the precinct, the Secretary's house and Corbett's garden.

Text of the Restrictions.

signal-gun near the alarm-house, will be established as the limits.

Observations.

II. By the first regulations which formed our establishment in this country, and which the English Government approved, persons arrived at Longwood in the following manner: the Governor, the Admiral, the Colonel commanding the regiment and the camp, the two members of the Company's Council, and the Secretary-General, who constitute the three principal houses of the country, might pass the guard without any passport or authority whatever. The inhabitants must have a pass from the Governor; the naval men from the Admiral; the officers from their Colonel; and lastly, the inhabitants, the naval men, and the

Text of the Restrictions.

II. Sentries will designate the external boundary, as well as that beyond which no person can approach Longwood house and garden, without the Governor's permission.

*Observations.**Text of the Restrictions.*

officers, might all approach with a pass from Count Bertrand, when they were sent for by the Emperor. This arrangement, which subsisted for eight months, was attended with no inconvenience. By the present regulations, which have been in force since the month of August, but were only communicated by this article, we are kept secluded, without any intercourse with the inhabitants. They, and the military, and naval officers, are alike repugnant at the idea of having to go to the Governor to ask permission to repair to Longwood; and be obliged to undergo an examination, as to what they are going to do there.

Observations. *Text of the Restrictions.*

Strangers, whether officers, or functionaries coming from India, and landing here, if desirous to see the Emperor, used to present themselves to Count Bertrand, who notified to them the day and hour. During their stay on the island, they were assimilated with the domesticated citizens ; and, with a pass from Count Bertrand, could, whenever they chose, pay a visit to Longwood. This was the usage for eight months, and produced no inconvenience. If any strangers arrived who were obnoxious to the Governor's suspicion, he could, in the first instance, forbid their landing, or prohibit their passing the

Observations.

first posts. In short, the Governor possessed daily, by the statement of the corps on guard, a report of the names of the persons who had come to Longwood. But afterwards, when all this was changed, in the month of August, the Governor attempted to impose on us the obligation of receiving those strangers whom he favoured, and on the day too which should suit him. This was the height of outrage. The Emperor was constrained to declare that he would see no one; and thus he put an end to all these insults.

III. By the first observation it has been proved that the precinct on this side had

Text of the Restrictions.

III. The road to the left of Hutsgate and returning by Wood ridge to Longwood, never

Observations.

been reduced. Here it is much more reduced. It is a strange kind of reasoning on which to assume this authority, that the valley has not been frequented for six months. But indeed, for many months, Napoleon, constantly tormented by the vexations of the Commandant, has not gone out: besides one part of the valley is not passable in the rainy season. It does not begin to be so until the month of January. In the other part of the valley a camp had been formed. Yet Lord Bathurst says in his speech, “*that range was not reduced till it had been found that he had abused the confidence reposed in him*

Text of the Restrictions.

having been frequented by General Bonaparte, since the Governor's arrival, the posts which observed it, will for the greater part be withdrawn. Should he however wish at any time to ride in that direction, by giving the orderly officer timely notice of it, he will meet with no impediment.

Observations.
by tampering with the inhabitants." Here then he is in contradiction with Sir Hudson Lowe. The reservation of allowing a ride in this valley on timely notice is evidently illusory. The details of the execution of the regulations, render that impossible. That promise neither could be, nor has been kept. In the loss of this precinct has been lost the possibility of going to Miss Mason's garden, where there are some large trees which afford shade. So that there is no longer a single point within the limits in which the French can take the air; or where there is a little shade, or a fountain. In the rest of the

Text of the Restrictions.

Observations.

precinct sentries have been placed. By some misunderstandings of orders, or otherwise, a person is liable to be stopt; and this has happened several times to the French officers.

IV. This is useless: the Emperor will not go out so long as there exists a wish to subject him to a direct and public inspection. Besides, the officers of the Commandant's staff have orders to make a report of all that the French might say in conversing with them. This therefore affords room and occasion for calumny. Several officers have refused to act such a shameful part, and have declared that they were not spies, to repeat conversations held

Text of the Restrictions.

IV. If he is desirous to extend his ride in any other direction, an officer of the Governor's personal Staff will always (on being informed in sufficient time,) be prepared to attend him, and, should time not admit, the orderly officer at Longwood.

The officer who attends him, will be instructed not to approach towards him, unless so requested, nor to interfere in any respect with him during his ride, except so

Observations.

with them in confidence while taking a walk.

Text of the Restrictions.

far as duty may require, on observing any departure from the established rules, when he will ride up and respectfully inform him of it.

V. Hitherto this extreme point of outrage had been forborne. The Emperor does not acknowledge, either in the English Government or in its agents, the right of imposing any thing upon him ; they have no right over him, but the right of force. But what is the object of this article ? To insult the character of the detained persons, and to vilify them ! To afford pretexts for quarrels with the sentries ! Thus the precinct is morally destroyed, since no per-

V. The regulations already in force, for preventing communication with any persons without the Governor's permission, will be required to be strictly adhered to : it is requested, therefore, General Bonaparte will abstain from entering any houses, or engaging in conversation with the persons he may meet, (except so far as the ordinary salutations of politeness, with which every one will be instructed to treat him, may appear to require), unless in the

Observations.

son is to be conversed with, and no house is to be entered. This is so extraordinary, as to compel a belief, to which some individuals are really inclined, that Sir Hudson Lowe is sometimes touched with mania.

VI. This is equally useless. No person has been received since the present Commandant overthrew all that had been established by his predecessor. It thence results, that if Napoleon were to receive a stranger, as none of his officers could present him, and none of his domestics could be in waiting, he must himself open the doors.

VII. During the great heats the only hour for walking is at

Text of the Restrictions.

presence of a British officer.

VI. Persons, who with General Bonaparte's acquiescence may at any time receive passes from the Governor to visit him, cannot use such passes to communicate with the other persons of his family, unless it is so specifically expressed in them.

VII. At sunset the garden enclosure round Longwood House will

Observations.

sunset. In order not to be liable to meet with sentries, it will be necessary to return within doors by day-light; meantime it will have been impossible to go out while the sun is up, as the place is destitute of shade, water, verdure, and coolness. There is no going out in the evening, according to this new regulation. The Emperor cannot take any exercise on horseback. He is in a small ill-constructed habitation, very insufficient and extremely unhealthy; there is even a want of water. No occasion is let slip of shewing him a want of attention. His constitution, though robust, is extremely weakened.

Text of the Restrictions.

be regarded as the limits. Sentries will be placed round it at that hour, but will be posted in such a manner as not to incommodate General Bonaparte with their personal observation of him, should he continue his walks in the garden after that time. They will be drawn round the house as heretofore during the night, and the limits will remain closed until the sentries are withdrawn entirely from the house and garden in the morning.

Observations.

VIII. This does not regard the Emperor, who neither writes nor receives letters. Wherefore only one explanation need be asked. Will any delinquency be imputed to the officers, for what they may thus write in confidential letters to their relatives? Or when those who read these letters, shall have satisfied themselves that they contain nothing hostile to the safety of the state, and of its policy, will they forget them? so that these letters may never be the subject of conversations or of grievances! If the reverse be the case, 'all correspondence must be considered as prohibited. The seizure committed

Text of the Restrictions.

VIII. All letters for Longwood will be put up by the Governor under a sealed envelope, and the packet sent to the orderly officer, to be delivered sealed to any officer in attendance upon General Bonaparte, who will thus be assured the contents will have been made known to no other person than the Governor.

In the same manner, all letters from persons at Longwood must be delivered to the orderly officer, put up under an outer envelope sealed, to the address of the Governor, which will insure that no other person than himself will be acquainted with their contents.

Observations.
on the person of Count
Lascases sufficiently
justifies these observa-
tions.

IX. The object of this, as proved by the inquisitions exercised throughout the island, is that the newspapers shall not inform the world of the criminal conduct pursued. They do themselves much harm to attain this end. The simpler course would have been so to conduct themselves as to have nothing to conceal. They went much farther in a letter dated the 1st July, 1816, addressed to Count Bertrand; they forbade even verbal communications with the inhabitants. This is a delirium of passion and hatred, or rather a ma-

Text of the Restrictions.

IX. No letters are to be received or sent, nor written communication of any kind pass or be made known, except in the above manner: nor can any correspondence be permitted within the island, except such communications as may be indispensable to make to the purveyor; the notes containing which must be delivered open, to the orderly officer, who will be charged to forward them.

The above alterations will take place from the 10th instant.

St. Helena, 9th October, 1816.
(Signed),

H. LOWE,

Observations. Text of the Restrictions.

nifest proof of madness. This regulation is a slight instance of all the vexations, that daily form the occupation of the present Commandant. Let Lord Bathurst now say, that Sir Hudson Lowe has made no restrictions, that the correspondence of Ministry has been wholly to the advantage of the persons detained, that the sole object has been the security of the detention.

A prey to such absurd and ignoble treatment, the Emperor for many months has not gone out. Professional men foresee that he will sink ; it is a mode of assassinating him, as certain and more barbarous than fire or poison.

B.

*Letter from Count Montholon to the Governor,
Sir Hudson Lowe.*

Longwood, 23d August, 1816.

GENERAL,

I have received the treaty of the 2d August, 1815, concluded between his Britannic Majesty, the Emperor of Austria, the Emperor of Russia, and the King of Prussia, which was annexed to your letter of the 23d July.

The Emperor Napoleon protests against the contents of that treaty. He is not the prisoner of England: after having abdicated, into the hands of the representatives of the nation, for the advantage of the constitution adopted by the French people, and in favour of his son, he repaired voluntarily and freely to England, to live there as a private individual, in retirement, under the protection of the British laws. The violation of all laws cannot constitute a right; in point of fact, the person of the Emperor Napoleon is in the power of England; but in fact, and of right, he has not been, and is not in the power of Austria, Russia, and Prussia, even according to the laws and customs of England, who never admitted into the balance in the

exchange of prisoners, the Russians, the Austrians, the Prussians, the Spaniards, the Portuguese, although she was united to those powers by treaties of alliance, and made war conjointly with them. The convention of the 2d August, made fifteen days after the Emperor Napoleon was in England, cannot, of right, have any effect ; it exhibits only a spectacle of a coalition of the four great powers of Europe, for the oppression of a single man ; a coalition disclaimed by the opinion of all people, and at variance with all the principles of sound morality. The Emperors of Austria and of Russia, and the King of Prussia, not having, either in fact or of right, any control over the person of the Emperor Napoleon, they have had no power to decree any thing concerning him. If the Emperor Napoleon had been in the power of the Emperor of Austria, that prince would have recollected the relations which religion and nature have placed between a father and a son ; relations which are never violated with impunity. He would have recollected, that Napoleon has four times restored him to his throne ; at Leoben, in 1797, and at Luneville, in 1801, when his armies were under the walls of Vienna ; at Presburg, in 1806, and at Vienna, in 1809, when his armies were masters of the capital, and of three-fourths of the

monarchy. That prince would have recollected the protestations which he made to him at the bivouac of Moravia, in 1806 ; and at the interviews at Dresden, in 1812. If the person of the Emperor Napoleon had been in the power of the Emperor Alexander, he would have called to mind the bonds of friendship contracted at Tilsit, at Erfurt, and during twelve years of daily intercourse. He would have remembered the conduct of the Emperor Napoleon, the day after the battle of Austerlitz, when, having it in his power to make him prisoner with the wreck of his army, he contented himself with his parole, and suffered him to operate his retreat. He would have called to mind, the dangers which the Emperor Napoleon personally braved to extinguish the conflagration of Moscow, and preserve to him that capital. Certainly, that prince would not have violated the duties of friendship and gratitude, towards a friend in misfortune. If the person of the Emperor Napoleon had even been in the power of the King of Prussia, that sovereign would not have forgotten, that it depended on the Emperor, after the day of Friedland, to place another prince on the throne of Berlin ; he would not have forgotten, in the presence of a disarmed enemy, the protestations of devotedness, and the sentiments which he expressed to him

In 1812, at the interviews of Dresden. Accordingly, it is obvious in the Articles 2 and 9 of the said treaty of the 2d August, that being unable in any way to influence the fate of the Emperor Napoleon's person, which is not in their power, those same persons, agree to what shall be done thereon, by the King of Great Britain, who undertakes to fulfil all obligations. These princes have reproached the Emperor Napoleon, with having preferred the protection of the English laws, to their protection. The false notions which the Emperor Napoleon had of the English laws, and of the influence which the opinion of a great, generous, and free people, had on their Government, induced him to prefer the protection of their laws, to that of his father-in-law, or his old friend. The Emperor Napoleon was ever competent to ensure what concerned him personally, by a diplomatic treaty, either by replacing himself at the head of the army of the Loire, or by placing himself at the head of the army of the Gironde, which General Claus commanded. But, seeking thenceforward only retirement, and the protection of the laws of a free nation, either English or American, all stipulations appeared to him unnecessary. He thought the English would be more bound by his frank, noble, and confident procedure, than they would have been by the

most solemn treaties. He was mistaken. But this error will always make true Britons blush ; and both in the present, and in future generations, it will be a proof of the faithlessness of the English Administration. An Austrian and a Russian Commissioner have arrived at St. Helena. If the object of their mission be the fulfilment of the duties, which the Emperors of Austria and Russia contracted by the treaty of the 2d of August, and to see that the English agents, in a small colony, in the midst of the ocean, do not fail in the attentions due to a prince, bound to them by the ties of kindred, and by so many other relations, there may be recognised in this procedure, some characteristics of those sovereigns. But you, Sir, have affirmed that those Commissioners had neither the right nor the power to form any opinion as to whatever takes place on this rock.

The English ministry have caused the Emperor Napoleon to be transported to St. Helena, 2000 leagues from Europe. This rock is situated in the tropic, 900 leagues from any continent ; it is subject to the consuming heats of this latitude ; it is covered with clouds and fogs during three quarters of the year ; it is at once the driest and the most humid country in the world ; such a climate is most adverse to the Emperor's health. It was hatred that dictated

the choice of this abode, as well as the instructions given by the English ministry to the officers commanding at this place. They have been ordered to call the Emperor Napoleon, "General," wishing to oblige him to acknowledge that he has never reigned in France; and this has determined him not to assume a name of incognito, as he had resolved to do on quitting France. As First Magistrate, for life, of the Republic, he concluded the preliminaries of London and the treaty of Amiens with the King of Great Britain; he received, as ambassadors, Lord Cornwallis, Mr. Merry, Lord Whitworth, who sojourned in this quality, at his court. He accredited to the King of England Count Otto and General Andreossy, who resided as ambassadors at the court of Windsor. When, after an interchange of letters between the two administrations of foreign affairs, Lord Lauderdale came to Paris, invested with full powers from the King of England, he treated with plenipotentiaries invested with full powers from the Emperor Napoleon, and sojourned several months at the court of the Thuilleries. When, subsequently, at Chatillon, Lord Castlereagh signed the ultimatum which the allied powers presented to the plenipotentiaries of the Emperor Napoleon, he thereby recognised the fourth dynasty. That ultimatum was more advantageous than the treaty of Paris; but it

was demanded that France should renounce Belgium and the left bank of the Rhine, which was contrary to the propositions of Frankfort, and to the proclamations of the allied powers, which was contrary also to the oath by which at his coronation the Emperor had sworn to the integrity of the empire. The Emperor then thought that the natural limits were necessary to the guarantee of France, and to the equilibrium of Europe. He thought that the French nation in their then existing circumstances ought rather to incur all the chances of war, than to depart from them. France would have obtained that integrity, and with it preserved her honour, if treason had not come to the aid of the allies.

The treaty of the 2d August, the British bill in parliament, call the Emperor Napoleon Bonaparte, and do not give him the title of General. The title of General Bonaparte is doubtless eminently glorious; the Emperor bore it at Lodi, at Castiglione, at Rivoli, at Arcola, at Leoben, at the Pyramids, at Aboukir; but for seventeen years he has borne that of First Consul and of Emperor. It would be to allow that he has not been either first magistrate of the Republic, or sovereign of the fourth dynasty. Those who think that nations are mere flocks, which belong by divine right to certain families, are not in the spirit of the age, nor even in that of the English legislature, which several times

changed the order of its dynasty, because great changes that had taken place in opinions, in which the reigning princes did not participate, had rendered them inimical to the welfare, and to a great majority of that nation. For kings are only hereditary magistrates, who exist but for the welfare of nations, and not nations for the satisfaction of kings. It was the same spirit of hatred which ordained that the Emperor Napoleon should not write or receive any letter, unless it was opened and read by the English Ministers and the officers of St. Helena. He has thus been denied the possibility of receiving news from his mother, his wife, his son, his brothers; and when desirous of avoiding the inconvenience of seeing his letters read by subaltern officers, he wished to send letters sealed to the Prince Regent, the answer was, that they could only undertake to let open letters pass; that such were the instructions of the Ministry. This measure needs not be reflected on; it will give strange ideas of the spirit of the administration which dictated it; it would even be disclaimed at Algiers. Letters have arrived for general officers of the Emperor's suite; they were unsealed, and were remitted to you; you did not communicate them, because they had not passed through the channel of the English Ministry. It was necessary to make them travel

over again 4000 leagues, and those officers had the pain of knowing that there existed on this rock, news from a wife, a mother, children, which they were not to know for six months. The heart rises at this!! We were not allowed to subscribe for the Morning Chronicle, the Morning Post, and some French journals. Some odd numbers of the Times were now and then sent to Longwood. Upon the demand made on board the Northumberland, some books were sent, but all those relative to transactions of late years were carefully withheld. It was afterwards wished to correspond with a London bookseller, in order to have direct means of obtaining some books that were wanted, and those which related to the events of the day: this was prevented. An English author having performed a voyage in France, and having printed it in London, took the trouble to send it you, that it might be offered to the Emperor; but you did not think yourself empowered to transmit it to him, because it had not come to you by the channel of your Government. It is also said that other books sent by their authors could not be transmitted, because on the title-page of some were the words "To the Emperor Napoleon," and on others "To Napoleon the Great." The English Ministry are not authorized to order any of these vexations; the law

of the British parliament, though iniquitous, considers the Emperor Napoleon as a prisoner of war; and prisoners of war have never been forbidden to subscribe for journals, or to receive books which are printed. Such a prohibition is made only in the dungeons of the Inquisition.

The isle of St. Helena is ten leagues in circumference; it is inaccessible on all sides; the coast is surrounded by some brigs, and there are posts placed on its verge within sight of each other, which render all communication with the sea impracticable. There is only one small village, James Town, where vessels arrive and depart. To prevent an individual from quitting the island, it is sufficient to guard the coast by sea and land. In interdicting the interior of the island, therefore, there can only be one object, that of excluding an easy ride of eight or ten miles, which exclusion, in the opinion of professional men, is shortening the life of the Emperor.

The Emperor has been established at Longwood, a site exposed to all winds, a sterile tract, uninhabited, destitute of water, unsusceptible of any culture. There is a precinct of about 1200 toises uncultivated; at the distance of 300 or 400 toises, upon a peak, they have established a camp; another has just been placed about the same distance, in the opposite direction; so that

amidst the tropic heats, on whatever side we turn, we behold nothing but camps. Admiral Malcolm having conceived how useful a tent would be to the Emperor in such a situation, has caused one to be pitched by his sailors, twenty paces in front of the house ; this is the only place where any shade can be found. However, the Emperor has no reason but to be satisfied with the spirit which animates the officers and soldiers of the brave 53d., as he also was with the crew of the Northumberland. Longwood House was built to serve as a barn for the Company's farm ; subsequently the Lieutenant Governor of the island had some rooms fitted up there ; it served him as a country-house, but it had none of the conveniences of a dwelling. For a year past, men have been constantly at work there, and the Emperor has been continually exposed to the inconvenience and insalubrity of inhabiting a house in a state of building. The room in which he sleeps is too small to contain a bed of ordinary dimensions : but every addition to Longwood House would prolong the annoyance of the workmen's attendance. Yet in this miserable island there are beautiful spots, presenting fine trees, gardens, and pretty good houses, Plantation-House among others ; but the positive instructions of the Ministry prohibit you from giving that

house, which might have spared much expense from your treasure, expense employed in building at Longwood some cottages covered with pitched paper, which are already out of repair. You have forbidden all correspondence between us and the inhabitants of the isle ; you have in fact placed the house of Longwood in a state of exclusion ; you have even fettered the communications of the officers of the garrison. It seems to have been a study to deprive us of the few resources which this miserable country affords, and we are here as we should be on the uncultivated and uninhabited rock of Ascension. During the four months that you, Sir, have been at St. Helena, you have deteriorated the situation of the Emperor. Count Bertrand observed to you, that you were violating even the law of your legislature ; that you were trampling under foot the rights of general officers, prisoners of war : you answered, that you recognised only the letter of your instructions, that they were worse even than your conduct appeared to us.

I have the honour to be,

General,

Your very humble and obedient Servant,

(Signed) The General C^{te}. DE MONTHOLON.

P. S. I had signed this letter, Sir, when I received yours of the 17th. You annex to it

an estimate of an annual sum of twenty thousand pounds sterling, which you deem indispensable to meet the expenditure of the establishment at Longwood, after all the reductions have been made which you have judged practicable. The discussion of this statement cannot in any manner concern us. The Emperor's table is scarcely what is strictly necessary; all the provisions are of bad quality, and four times dearer than at Paris. You ask of the Emperor a fund of twelve thousand pounds sterling, your Government allowing you only eight thousand pounds sterling for all these expenses. I have had the honour to tell you that the Emperor had no funds; that for a year past he had not received or written any letter; and that he was in complete ignorance as to what is passing or may have been passing in Europe. Transported by violence to this rock, 2000 leagues distant, without the power of receiving or writing any letter, he now remains entirely at the discretion of the English Agents. The Emperor has always desired, and does desire, to defray all expenses whatever himself; and he will do so as soon as you will make it possible for him, by removing the prohibition imposed on the merchants of the island, of forwarding his correspondence, and by consenting that it shall not be subject to any inquisition by you or any of your

agents. As soon as the wants of the Emperor shall be known in Europe, the persons who are interested concerning him, will send the necessary funds for supplying them.

The letter of Lord Bathurst, which you have communicated to me, gives rise to some strange ideas. Were your Ministers then ignorant that the spectacle of a great man struggling with adversity is the sublimest of spectacles? were they ignorant that Napoleon at St. Helena, amidst persecutions of all kinds, which he confronts only with serenity, is greater, more sacred, more venerable, than on the first throne in the world, where he was so long the arbiter of Kings? Those who in this position are wanting in what is due to Napoleon, vilify only their own character, and the nation which they represent.

(Signed) The Gen. C^{te}. DE MONTHOLON.

C.

*Letter from Count Montholon to the Governor,
Sir Hudson Lowe.*

Longwood, 9th Sep. 1816.

GENERAL,

I have received your two letters of the 30th August; there is one of them which I have not

communicated. Count Bertrand and myself have had the honour of telling you several times, that we could not take charge of any thing which would be contrary to the august character of the Emperor. You know better than any one, Sir, how many letters have been sent from the Post-office to Plantation-House ; you have forgotten that upon the representations which we have made to you repeatedly, you answered, that your instructions obliged you to let nothing go to Longwood, either letter, book, or pamphlet, unless those articles had passed the scrutiny of your Government. A lieutenant of the Newcastle having been the bearer of a letter to Count Lascases, you kept that letter, but the officer deeming his delicacy compromised, you transmitted it thirty days after it had reached this island, &c..... We are sure that our families and our friends write to us often ; hitherto we have received very few of their letters.—But it is by virtue of the same principle, that you this day disavow that you have retained the books and pamphlets that have been addressed to you, and yet you keep them.

Your second letter of the 30th August, Sir, is no answer to that which I had the honour to write to you, to remonstrate against the changes effected by you in the course of that month, and

which demolish all the bases of our establishment in this country.

1. "There is no part of my written instructions more definite, or to which my attention is more pointedly called, than that 'no person whatever should hold any communication with (the Emperor) except through my agency.' You give a judaical interpretation to your instructions; there is nothing in them which justifies or authorizes your conduct. Those instructions your predecessor had; you had them for three months previous to the changes which you effected a month ago. In short, it was not difficult for you to reconcile your different duties.

2. "I have already acquainted (the Emperor) personally of this."

3. "In addressing all strangers and other persons, except those whose duty might lead them to Longwood, in the first instance to Count Bertrand, (or asking myself) to ascertain whether (the Emperor) would receive their visit, and in not giving passes, except to such persons as had ascertained this point, or were directed to do it, I conceive," &c.

4. "It is not, Sir, in my power to extend such privilege as you require, to Count Bertrand, &c."

I am obliged to declare to you, Sir, 1st, That

you have communicated nothing to the Emperor. 2d. For more than two months you have had no communication with Count Bertrand. 3d. We require of you no privilege for Count Bertrand, since I only ask a continuation of that state of things which existed for nine months.

5. "I regret to learn that (the Emperor) has "been incommoded with the visits," &c. This is bitter irony.

Instead of endeavouring to reconcile your different duties, Sir, you seemed determined to persist in a system of continual vexations. Will this do honour to your character? Will it merit the approbation of your Government and your nation? Permit me to doubt it.

Several general officers, who arrived in the Cornwallis, desired to be presented at Longwood. If you had referred them to Count Bertrand, as you had hitherto referred all strangers presenting themselves in the island, they would have been received. You have doubtless your reasons for preventing persons of some distinction from coming to Longwood; allege, if you choose, as you commonly do, the tenor of your instructions; but do not misrepresent the intentions of the Emperor.

The younger Lascases, and Capt. Pionkowski were yesterday in the town. An English lieu-

tenant accompanied them thither, and then conformably to orders existing until that day, left them at liberty to go and see what persons they wished. Whilst young Lascases was talking with some young ladies, the officer came, and with extreme pain at being charged with so disagreeable a commission, declared that your orders were not to lose sight of him. This is contrary to what has taken place heretofore. It would, I think, be proper that you should make known to us the changes you are effecting. This is forbidding use every visit to town, and thus violating your instructions. Yet you know that scarcely one of the persons at Longwood goes to the town once a month, and there is no circumstance which can authorize you to change the established order. This is carrying persecution very far! I cannot conceive what has occasioned your letter of the 8th of September; I refer, Sir, to the postscript of my letter, of the 23d August. The Emperor is ill, in consequence of the bad climate, and privations of all kinds, and I have not made known to him all the fastidious details that have been made to me on your part. All this has been going on for two months, and should have been terminated long ago, as the postscript of my letter of the 23d August is explicit; it is now high time that the

thing should be ended ; but it appears to be a text from which to insult us,

I have the honour to be, General,

Your very Humble and Obedient Servant,

(Signed) The Gen. C^{te}. DE MONTHOLON.

D.

Note from Count Bertrand to Admiral Sir G. Cockburn.

St. Helena, 24 October, 1815.

The Emperor desires, by the return of the next ship, to have news from his wife and his son, and to know if the latter be still living. He avails himself of this opportunity to reiterate and transmit to the British Government the protestations which he has made against the strange measures adopted against him.

1. The Government has declared him a prisoner of war. The Emperor is not a prisoner of war. His letter to the Prince Regent, written and communicated to Captain Maitland before going on board the Bellerophon, sufficiently proves to the whole world the dispositions and the confidence which freely conducted him under the British flag.

The Emperor had it in his power not to quit France, but by stipulations that might have

decided on all that related to his person ; but he disdained to mingle his personal concerns with the great interests with which his mind had been constantly occupied. He might have placed himself at the disposal of the Emperor Alexander, who had been his friend, or of the Emperor Francis, who was his father-in-law. But, with the confidence which he had in the English nation, he wished for no other protection than the laws ; and, renouncing public affairs, he sought no country, but that which was governed by fixed laws, independent of the will of individuals.

2. If the Emperor had been a prisoner of war, the rights of civilized nations over a prisoner of war, are bounded by the law of nations, and terminate moreover with the war itself.

3. The English Government, considering the Emperor even arbitrarily, as a prisoner of war, their right over him was then bounded by public right ; or indeed they might, as there was no cartel between the two nations in the existing war, adopt towards him the principles of the savages, who put their prisoners to death. This right would have been more humane, more conformable to justice, than that of transporting him to this frightful rock.

The death that might have been given him

on board the Bellerophon, in Plymouth roads, would have been comparatively a benefit.

We have travelled over the most wretched countries in Europe ; none of them is to be compared with this arid rock, destitute of all that can render life supportable. It is calculated to renew at every instant the anguish of death. The first principles of Christian morality, and that great duty imposed on man to follow his destiny, whatever it may be, can alone prevent him from terminating with his own hand so horrible an existence. The Emperor glories in continuing to be superior to it. But if the British Government are to persist in their acts of injustice and violence, he will consider it as a benefit that they will order him to be put to death.

(Signed) COUNT BERTRAND.

E.

Letter from Count Montholon to Sir Hudson Lowe.

GOVERNOR,

Longwood, July 8, 1816.

I have had the honour to receive your letter. The Emperor having been tormented last night

with rheumatic pains, I could not communicate it to him until yesterday evening. He said to me—these are his own words—“ That letter “ is written with the intention of being amicable. . . . That is a contrast to the ignoble vexations that are daily imagined. . . . That does “ not agree with the conversation* which I “ have had with Sir Hudson Lowe, and to “ which that letter relates. Of that conversation I retain only a painful remembrance, and “ a surmise of something sinister. This island “ is very injurious to my health ; it is the most “ humid country upon the earth. They make “ it a study to render my abode in it still more “ unhealthy and frightful.” I have thought proper, Mr. Governor, to equal the confidence which you have been pleased to testify to me on this occasion, by not disguising to you the manner in which the Emperor is affected. He attaches only a very secondary interest to what concerns lodging, furniture, and matters of that kind : your Government, with the best intentions, cannot do any thing which shall on this

* After this audience, the Emperor said, “ I have had to do “ with men of all countries ; I never saw any who had so bad “ a physiognomy, and a more execrable conversation. There “ is something sinister in all this.”

rock prevent us from continuing to feel the privation of articles of the first necessity.

Longwood is the most unhealthy part of the island. There is no water, no vegetation, no shade. It has never been possible to establish a kitchen garden there: the soil is parched up by the wind: in consequence this part of the island is wild and uninhabited. If the Emperor had been settled at Plantation House, where there are fine trees, water, and gardens, he would there have been as well placed as this wretched country will allow. If you have any intentions of building, it would be preferable to do that in the cultivated part of the island; in a place where there are trees, water, and vegetation. The idea of adding wings to the bad building of Longwood, would involve all kinds of inconveniences. It would be enlarging a ruin, and occasioning for five or six months all the annoyance of workmen. Nothing is wished for at Longwood, but repairs. For two months it has rained into the rooms of Count Lascases and Baron Gourgaud, rendering those lodgings very unwholesome. There should be at Longwood a reservoir of water, to serve, in case of fire. The roofs are mostly of pitched paper; and a single spark might burn down the house. A great quantity of linen, and other effects, have been rendered useless by the rats; and for this want

of wardrobes and drawers. The books, brought by the Newcastle, have been, for fifteen days, exposed to the same damage, for want of book-cases, or shelves, to place them on, &c. The simplest means of providing for all these little wants would be, I think, to engage a master-workman to make all repairs, whenever they are required, and also an upholsterer, to look after the furniture and moveables, of which the stores should be under his care. Tradesmen are the fittest persons for attending to all these details.

I have the honour to be, Governor,

Your very humble and obedient servant,

(Signed) Gen. C^{te}. DE MONTHOLON.

F.

*Letter from the Governor, Sir Hudson Lowe, to
Count Montholon.*

Plantation House, August 17th, 1816.

SIR,

IN pursuance of the conversations I have already had with you on the subject of the expenses of the establishment at Longwood, I do myself the honour to acquaint you that having used all efforts to effect a reduction in

them without diminishing in any very sensible manner from the convenience or comforts of General Bonaparte, or any of the families or individuals that form his suite, (in which operation I am happy to acknowledge the spirit of concert with which you have assisted,) I am now enabled to transmit to you, for General Bonaparte's information, two statements, furnishing sufficiently precise data whereon to found a calculation of the probable annual expense, should matters continue on the same footing as at present established.

The statement, No. I. has been furnished me by Mr. Ibbetson, head of the Commissariat department in this Island ; the latter has been framed by my military secretary.

The instructions I have received from the British Government direct me to limit the expenditure of General Bonaparte's establishment to £8000 per annum ; they give me liberty at the same time to admit of any further expense being incurred, which he may require as to table and so forth, beyond what this sum would cover, provided he furnishes the funds whereby the surplus charges may be defrayed.

I am now therefore under the necessity of requesting you would make known to him the impossibility I am under of bringing the expenses of his household on its present establish-

ment in point of numbers, within the limits prescribed, unless I make such a reduction under several heads as might naturally abridge from the conveniences which the persons around him now enjoy; and having been already very frankly informed by him as well as by yourself, that he has at his disposal in various parts of Europe, means whereby the extra or even the whole expense may be defrayed,* I beg leave to request being informed previous to attempting any further considerable reduction, and which might prove inconvenient to him or the persons of his suite, if he is content such an attempt should be made, or if he is willing to place at my command sufficient funds to meet the extra charges which must otherwise be unavoidably incurred.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient humble Servant,

(Signed) H. LOWE, Lieut. General.

* *Explanatory Note.*—It was answered by the postscript of the letter of the 23d August. to this part of Sir Hudson Lowe's letter, and had been told to him, that if there were a free correspondence, and if the wants here experienced were known in Europe, there was no doubt that millions would be offered from the different countries of Europe.

No. I.

STATEMENT,
SHEWING THE PROBABLE ANNUAL EXPENDITURE, ON ACCOUNT OF GENERAL
BONAPARTE AND SUITE ON THE ISLAND OF ST. HELENA.

		Total Amount per Annum.
Supplied. By Commissariat Department	Forage for 13 horses daily	£ s. d. 720 4 7
	Transport forage for one mule conveying the same	46 10 2
	Pay of soldier in charge of the mule	27 7 6
Expense. Of English servants attached to General Bonaparte's establishment.		675 0 0
Ditto. Of public transport conveying the supplies furnished by the Surveyor to Longwood.	Forage for 8 mules daily	372 1 4
	Pay of 2 Maleteers in charge of the same	109 10 0
	Rations of ditto	68 8 9
Ditto. Of public mechanics employed at Longwood House, whose services are likely to be wanted for a considerable time.	Pay of 2 soldiers ditto	27 7 6
Supplied. By Mr. Defontain in charge of the stores belonging to the East India Company.	2 overseers, 6 carpenters, 4 sawyers, 9 masons, 3 plasters, and 1 painter	939 17 6
Ditto	Table stores and other necessaries for the house	2020 5 3
	Wines: Claret, Gravé, Champagne, Madeira	2445 10 0
	From Government stores sent from England.	11,700 0 0
	Do. by Mr. Balcomb, purveyor.	

.....

Proposed. Allowance to be granted to Mr. Balcomb, purveyor, at 5 per cent. on the account of the supplies, &c, furnished by hire, on the sum as above mentioned.	To be added
Proposed. Salary to Surgeon O'Meara, attached to General Bonaparte and suite, not yet defined.	To be added
	19,152 2 7

(Signed) D. IBBETSON,
A. Com. General.

Nota Bene. In the sum of £11,700 is comprised a fixed expense of £672 for the table of the English Officers on guard at Longwood. The Statement, No. 2, is in every respect similar to this, with the single difference that it enters less into detail, and is made in round numbers; it amounts to £19,450, including the emoluments attached as a memorandum to the present Statement.

G.

Extract of a Letter from the Governor, Sir Hudson Lowe, to Count Bertrand.

Plantation House, July 1st, 1816.

SIR,

A sealed letter, &c.

I should not omit to mention, that as all communications and correspondence with the persons who reside at Longwood, except with my knowledge and sanction, are positively interdicted by the instructions I have received, and published, the employment of any individual to carry communications, either written or verbal, except such as are addressed to, or made known to me, through the orderly officer at Longwood, may tend to involve in the most serious consequences, those who shall become the instrument of this conveyance; and I should hope this consideration, with those I have before presented, will have its effect in preventing your recurrence in future, to any other channel than the very safe and simple one which I have pointed out, and from which I cannot take upon myself to suffer any deviation.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient humble Servant,
 (Signed) H. LOWE, Governor.

N. B. An extract is here given of Count Bertrand's answer, which relates to the above passage in Sir Hudson Lowe's letter.

Longwood, July 2d, 1816.

“ GOVERNOR,

“ I have received, &c.

“ In your letter you speak of verbal communications: this is not intelligible, if it applies to persons of the island, to whom we ought to be able to speak, since we see them, and meet with them. But the soul and the mind are beyond the power of injustice.

“ I have the honour to be,

“ Governor,

“ Your very obedient humble Servant,

(Signed) “ COUNT BERTRAND.”

H.

*Letter from Count Bertrand to the Governor,
Sir Hudson Lowe.*

Longwood, 30th September, 1817.

GOVERNOR,

I have made known to the Emperor, that you did me the honour to come to me the day before yesterday, (Sunday) that you told me some anxieties had been excited in you, respecting his ill health, and that as this was attributed to want of exercise, why did he not ride out on horseback ?

I replied to you, what had been said in various circumstances, and I have the honour to repeat to you now, that the existence of the Emperor, particularly for the last six weeks, is extremely painful, that the swelling of his legs increases every day, that the symptoms of scurvy which had been remarked in his gums, are already such as to occasion him almost constantly acute pains, that the medical men attribute this to want of exercise, that even since the month of May, 1816, that is to say, for 17 or 18 months, the Emperor has not been on horseback, has scarcely ever been out of his apartment, except

sometimes, and very rarely, when he came about 40 toises, to visit my wife; that you know perfectly well, what has prevented, and does prevent the Emperor from going out; namely, the restrictions of the 9th October, 1816, which began to be put in execution six weeks after your arrival; that those restrictions contain among others, a prohibition from speaking or listening to any person we may meet, and from going into any house; this makes him think that your intention was to compromise him with the sentries, and to outrage his character.

You have observed to me, that you have suppressed that part of the restrictions, and such is the case. Admiral Malcolm on his return from the Cape, made some observations to you on the subject, and you decided on suspending them, which you did by your letter of the 26th December, 1816, three months afterwards. But you have several times insinuated, and you believe yourself authorized to re-establish them at any moment, as well as others equally unreasonable. The restrictions of the 9th October, 1816, contain other articles of the same extravagant nature, which are not suspended. Fresh restrictions which you made on the 14th March, 1817, prescribe that we are not to quit the extent of a road twelve feet wide. It would thence

result, that if the Emperor were to quit that road, or enter any house, the sentries might fire upon him. The Emperor ought not to recognize such ignoble treatment. Several Englishmen of distinction, at present in the island, on that passage being read to them, not being acquainted with the restrictions of the 9th October, 1816, and of the 14th March, 1817, reproached the Emperor for sacrificing his health by not going out; but as soon as they were made known to them, they changed their opinion, and declared that no man of honour could act differently, and that, without pretending to compare themselves with him, they would in such a case have done as he did.

I added, that if you wished to consult the officers who are in this colony, there is not one among them who does not regard the restrictions of the 9th October, 1816, and those of the 14th March, 1817, as unjust, useless, and oppressive, and that all, in the Emperor's place, would do as he did, holding such a conditional leave to go out, as an absolute prohibition.

I had also the honour to tell you, that according to the terms of the Bill in Parliament of the 11th April, 1816, you have not a right to make restrictions; that the bill grants that right only to the Government, which cannot delegate it even to one of its Minis-

ters, and still less to an individual officer; that Lord Bathurst in his speech, in the month of March, in the House of Peers, declared that you had made no new restriction, that all his correspondence had been in favour of the detained persons, and that you had the same instructions as your predecessor; that your predecessor had adapted the restrictions of Government to local circumstances, in a manner, if not convenient, at least tolerable, that things remained in this state for nine months, during which time the Emperor used to go out, received even some English officers at his table, and sometimes had in his society the officers and inhabitants of the island; that this order of things was not changed by an act of your Government; that during those nine months, no inconvenience took place, and that nothing can have authorized you to substitute for an order of things so reasonable, that which you have established; that the Emperor would go out, ride on horseback, and resume the same way of life, if you would restore things to the state they were in at the time of your arrival; that in defect of this, you would be responsible for the results of the restrictions of the 9th of October, 1816, and the 14th March, 1817, which you have no right to make, and which, to the Empe-

ror are equivalent to an absolute prohibition to quit his apartments.

You told me, Sir, that the Emperor's room was too small, that Longwood House was altogether bad, as you had declared it to be to your Government, that the Emperor having had a tent erected last year because there was no alley where he could walk in the shade, you proposed to establish a soldier's wooden barrack near the house where the Emperor might take his walks ; I undertook to make known to him your proposition. He considered this offer as a mockery, (those were his words) and analogous to the conduct pursued for these two years. If the house where he is be inconvenient, why has he been left there for these two years, and why do not they give him one of those in the island, situated in the midst of gardens, trees, shades and water ? Why leave him upon this uncultivated point, exposed to the winds, and having nothing that can contribute to the preservation of life.

Let me be allowed, Sir, to point out to your observation, that if you do not suppress the restrictions of the 9th of October, 1816, and of the 14th March, 1817, and if you do not re-establish things as they were in the time of the Admiral, the Emperor cannot go out. He considers, and will consider that determination as a willingness

on your part to occasion his death. He is entirely at your disposal. You make him die of sickness ; you can make him die of hunger ; it would be a benefit if you would make him die by a musket-shot.

If you assemble the military and naval officers of this place, and the principal officers of health, there is not one of them but will tell you that your restrictions are disgraceful, and that a man of honour should sooner die than acknowledge them ; that they are of no avail to the security of the detention ; that they are illegal. The text of the Bill, and the speech of your Minister cannot leave any kind of doubt on this point. The medical officers will tell you that there is no more time to be lost ; that in three or four weeks perhaps it will be too late ; and although this great Prince be abandoned by fortune, and there is an open field for calumnies and libels in Europe, yet a cry of indignation will be raised among all people ; for there are here several hundreds of persons, French, English, and foreigners, who will bear witness to all that has been done to put an end to the life of this great man.

I have, Sir, always spoken to you to this effect, more or less forcibly. I shall speak to

you of it no more, for denials, subtleties and arguments are very useless.

The question lies in two words ; do you or do you not wish to kill the Emperor ? If you persist in your conduct you will yourself have answered in the affirmative ; and unhappily, the object will probably be attained after some months of agony.

Permit me, in concluding, to answer, on the part of the officers who are with the Emperor, and also on my own, to your letters of the 29th and 26th July last. Sir, you misunderstand our character : menaces have no power upon us. For twenty years we have braved every danger in his service. By remaining voluntarily at St. Helena in the horrible situation in which we are, and exposed to the strangest proceedings, we sacrifice to him more than our lives and those of our families. Insensible to your menaces and your insinuations, we shall continue to fulfil our duty ; and if there were any subjects of complaint against us before your Government, we do not doubt that the Prince Regent, Lord Liverpool, and so many estimable men who form it, would know very well how to appreciate them. They know the respect due to the holy ministration which we fulfil ; and even had we to

apprehend persecution, we should adhere to our maxim, "Do your duty, come what may.*"

I have the honour to be,

Governor,

Your very humble and obedient Servant,

(Signed) COUNT BERTRAND.

* Fais ce que dois ; advienne que pourra.

THE END.

and until the 18th and 19th century. Some of the
earlier ones are probably quite old, but others

are quite recent.

DC
211
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Observations on Lord Bathurst's
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